

16 AUG 1972

# Cuban line stays revolutionary

By Karen Wald

When unsuccessful right-wing attacks on the Cuban revolution began to be supplanted by so-called "left-critiques," a prevalent accusation against Cuba was that "Soviet domination" had caused the revolutionaries to abandon armed struggle and their previous open support for liberation movements.

K.S. Karol repeated the popular myth in his book *Guerrillas in Power*. "Castro was forced to turn his back on what had been his paramount objective until then: a continental revolution," Karol told his readers. "No fresh proclamations on the Latin American revolution have been issued since Che's death. . . ."

## Sell out?

The cause of this "sell-out" position, to Karol and to a number of other outside critics, was the Soviet Union. "The man in the street . . . and also the devout party member . . . could not help but wonder . . . whether Fidel's support of the Peruvian revolution did not fly in the face of the OLAS (Organization of Latin American Solidarity) resolutions, and whether it was not time for Fidel to make it clear precisely how this new alliance with Russia was influencing his views on the Latin American revolution."

When I visited Cuba last year, everyone insisted that Cuba had not changed her policy. They suggested one look at Cuban policy statements, at Cuban actions, instead of the analyses offered by foreign observers. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the central committee, stated flatly: "The thought of the Cuban revolution about these questions has not changed. Our position is the same we have defended throughout the entire development of the revolution."

Over a year later, commenting on the recent OAS (Organization of American States) meeting, the editorial in Cuba's official daily newspaper, *Granma*, used almost the same words. Peru had tried to introduce a resolution ending the blockade of Cuba. Although it was defeated, seven of the member countries had voted for the measure, a sharp rebuke to U.S. domination of the organization. Expressing satisfaction

that the measure had not passed, the U.S. representative added that the U.S. was "willing to lift the blockade of Cuba as soon as there are clear indications that Cuba is changing its policy (of 'intervention' in Latin America.)"

The *Granma* editorial called the U.S. statement hypocritical and diversionistic, trying to create confusion "when it insinuates that the Cuban government might change its policy, thus attempting to fan false rumors that the Cuban government may be studying a change of policy or contemplating talks involving compromises and transactions with imperialism."

"Even though Cuba's staunch position has been clearly stated a thousand times," the *Granma* editorial continued, "we will never tire of reiterating it as many times as necessary. The policy of the Cuban government has not changed and will never change. It is the imperialist government of the U.S. that must change its policy. Until it does so . . . Cuba will have nothing to discuss with the government of the U.S."

What is that unchanging policy of the Cuban revolution? Rodriguez summed it up in a speech to the International Organization of Journalists in January 1971: "It is true that when a people has a revolutionary consciousness and weapons . . . it has a guarantee of independence, but we also know that that guarantee will not be absolute until imperialism is defeated," he told the assembled journalists. He underlined the need for continental revolution, stating ". . . we understand that for us, the most important factor in that defeat is the development of the struggles of the peoples of Latin America for their independence and progress."

Commenting on events in Chile and Peru, Rodriguez observed: "It is understandable, then, why we are overjoyed with the triumph of Salvador Allende and Unidad Popular, achieved at this stage without the peoples having to take up arms. . . ."

## Armed struggle necessary

"We are pleased to see that the Government of Peru holds firmly to its nationalist positions, rejecting the intervention of imperialism and searching for its own roads

to the solutions of its problems. . . ." he went on, but quickly cautioned: "We would be very happy to know that the independence of Latin America could be achieved by roads such as those taken by Chile and Peru, without a need for armed confrontations, but a glance at the panorama of our America does not make that satisfaction possible. The military gorilla tyrannies continue to subsist and are maintained. We know full well that the roads to democracy are closed and that, as was stated in the Second Declaration of Havana, 'Wherever the roads to the exercise of democracy are closed to the people, there is no other way but that of armed struggle.'"

Then, to make certain that people understood that Cuba's commitment was not just theoretical, Rodriguez concluded: "You can be certain, comrades, that just as we greet with joy the bloodless victories of our peoples and support all possibilities of such victories, so, wherever in Latin America or anywhere else in the world firm—firm!—hands take up the weapons left by the heroic guerrilla, there will be the support, the solidarity, and if need be, the presence of the Cuban people."

The Second Declaration of Havana, of support for armed liberation struggles, has been the cornerstone of Cuban foreign policy since the victory of the revolution. But lessons have been learned through the years and the outward expression of this policy does not always appear the same.

"We haven't by any means given up armed struggle," exploded one worker in a organization with direct ties to the liberation struggles abroad. "We've just gotten a hell of a lot more serious. We've been too generous with our blood and our lives before," he went on—an idea I was to hear repeated many times before I left. "The Cuban people have paid a very high price for our too hasty support of every group that picks up a gun. We can't afford to be romantic revolutionaries anymore, and we can't afford to support this type of revolutionary, either—all those people who don't lead anyone, don't represent anyone but declare themselves a militant vanguard organization and demand our help. And we've always given it, all too freely."

continued

9 FEB 1972

# Soviet Warships Patrol Guinea Coast

David B. Ottaway

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Soviet Union has been maintaining a "regular combat patrol" off the coast of the West African state of Guinea for over a year now, according to a paper prepared for the Center for Naval Analyses, the U.S. Navy's counterpart to the Air Force's Rand Corp.

The patrol has included at times a destroyer, three frigates, a landing craft, and a supply vessel, according to sources cited by Robert G. Weinland, author of the paper and a member of the center.

Although reluctant to discuss the matter, State Department officials confirmed the report. One said that there had been a "continuous presence" of "one or more" Soviet warships off the coast or in the port of Conakry ever since the attempted invasion of Guinea by Portuguese-backed Guinean exiles in November 1970.

There have been several reports in the British and American press of Soviet naval activity off Guinea, but this is

believed to be the first time that any government has officially confirmed or commented on them.

The reluctance of both State and Defense Department officials to discuss the matter appears to stem from fears that U.S. allegations of Soviet naval protection of Guinea might anger President Sekou Toure, a highly mercurial leader.

U.S.-Guinean relations have cooled somewhat in the past few years, and the State Department is anxious to avoid any complications that might lead Toure's socialist regime to seize American aluminum companies. They have a \$150-million investment in Guinea's booming bauxite and alumina industry.

Toure accused the CIA of involvement in the invasion, but he carefully avoided accusing the U.S. government as such. He concentrated his ire against Portugal and West Germany.

African specialists in the State Department seem to discount the possibility that the

Soviet Union may be seeking to gain base rights in Conakry. They believe the Soviet task force is there primarily to protect Toure's regime from another invasion from neighboring Portuguese Guinea.

The 1970 assault on Conakry by 350 shipborne commandos reportedly originated there, and Toure has repeatedly stated his conviction that another invasion is in the making.

These specialists view the Soviet action as an easy way for Moscow to score some points not only with the Socialist regime in Guinea but also with the Portuguese Guinean nationalists who have their headquarters and guerrilla training camps there.

The Portuguese-armed Guinean exiles who invaded Guinea in an attempt to overthrow Toure also attacked the anti-Portuguese training facilities.

The Guinean situation is also an opportunity for the Soviet Union to champion African independence movements generally.

In his paper, Weinland cites the Soviet action in defense of Toure's regime as a prime example of the changing character in the use of naval power by the Soviet Union—from mere defense of the homeland to politically motivated operations.

Weinland argues that if the Soviets are willing to commit their own forces to combat in defense of a client such as Guinea, and he seems to believe they are increasingly prepared to do so, then there is the risk of NATO being dragged into a conflict by Portugal, a member of the Atlantic Alliance.

More likely, he suggests, is that Portugal may wind up facing the Soviets alone, should it attempt an attack on Guinea or back another invasion such as occurred in 1970.

But he warns that such a Portuguese-Soviet confrontation still would provoke serious strains on the NATO alliance and proposes that steps be taken to insure that such a situation does not arise.

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# The reign of terror in Guinea

"A blind and wicked vendetta in a collective explosion of hate and cruelty."

The words were spoken almost a year ago. They came from a man not known to such strong words, Pope Paul VI. The occasion that brought forth this outburst was the savage repression by Guinea's President Sekou Toure. 53 prisoners were sentenced to death as traitors on Jan. 24, 1971; 34 were tried in absentia and received the same penalty and 66 defendants were given life imprisonment. Among the accused was Catholic Archbishop Raymond-Marie Tchidimbo, who, despite strong Vatican protests and claims of innocence, was sentenced to jail for life at hard labor.

Four of the condemned, leading members of the Toure government, were hanged from a bridge in the capital, Conakry. The Vatican newspaper L'Osservatore Romano deplored "manifestations of jubilation and insults to the corpses of the victims." The paper said men and women spat on the bodies in a carnival atmosphere. The government radio in Conakry reported President Toure had written a new poem, "Goodbye to the Traitors," to commemorate the executions.

These events came shortly after Guinea had declared that it had been invaded by forces from Portuguese Guinea, a claim upheld in varying degrees at the United Nations and in several world capitals but totally denied by Lisbon. Since none of the government buildings was evidently attacked, but the headquarters of a group aiming to liberate Portuguese Guinea was, it was assumed that the Portuguese had carried out a limited operation to eliminate persons who were making trouble for them from across the border. The Paris newspaper Le Monde reported that the invaders were actually Guinean emigres coming in from Portuguese Guinea with the intention of ousting President Toure.

Whatever it was that actually happened, Mr. Toure got going on his clean-up campaign. "Everywhere the people must cut to pieces, burn and slit the throats of all fifth-column agents who harm the Guinean nation," he declared.

It has been a year since and there does not seem to be much of a letup. Virtually every Western-educated Guinean has disappeared from public view. Those arrested include 16 ministers, 14 of 21 cabinet-level officers, 14 of 29 governors, almost all the top army officers, several ambassadors and dozens of businessmen and civilians. Torture is used to get "confessions," which implicate more people, occasioning more trials, which in turn bring more "confessions" and implications. It seems like a never-ending line.

One Guinean is reported as saying he believes the president has gone insane. That could be. That's what people said about Stalin. One puzzling thing, however, is that while those arrested are usually charged with being Portuguese collaborators or spies for France (the former colonial master), West Germany or the United States, President Toure refrains from accusing the government of the United States.

American officials, even ambassadors, are accused. The CIA, of course, is always the principal villain. But the U.S. government as such has escaped being assigned any role in the drama of terror. Nor are the two Western consortiums that mine the country's bauxite deposits feeling any heat. This indicates not a mad man but a skillful politician. That, of course, is little consolation to those who are in jail, in exile, being hunted, facing execution, or dead. If President Toure keeps going the way he has, he may find there are not many left for him to accuse, nor to cheer him.

# opinion

Wilmington, Delaware, Wednesday, January 26, 1972 \* \* \* Page 22

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## GUINEA:

## The Great Purge

In the Guinean capital of Conakry, civil servants are expected to answer their telephones with a snappy "*Prêt pour la révolution* [Ready for the revolution]!" But nowadays, they do so with sinking hearts. For on the other end of the phone a caller might be measuring the revolutionary timbre of their voices—and if it is judged insincere, they can be denounced, jailed and even sentenced to death. Such, in fact, is the calculated reign of terror conducted by the West African nation's Marxist President, Sekou Touré, that virtually every Western-educated Guinean has disappeared from public view in the last fourteen months. "Sekou Touré has gone mad," says one alarmed observer. "He is taking a whole generation of his country's elite and wiping it out. The revolution is feeding on its own."

The reign of terror began with a series of arrests and a massive show trial last January. In the wake of an abortive invasion by Portuguese mercenaries, President Touré exhorted his National Assembly that "everywhere the people must cut to pieces, burn and slit the throats of all fifth-column agents who harm the Guinean nation." The Assembly took the cue and condemned 58 political prisoners to death and 66 to life imprisonment. At least four of the condemned—a police commissioner and three Cabinet secretaries—were executed right away and their bodies hung from a highway overpass near one of Conakry's gentle, palm-fringed beaches.

**Charges:** But the worst was yet to come. In June, Touré began a purge that persists even now. Among others, he has arrested sixteen ministers, fourteen of 21 Cabinet-level officers, the governors of fourteen of Guinea's 29 regions, scores of businessmen and civil servants, almost all of the top army officers and several ambassadors, including two former ambassadors to the U.S., Karim Bangoura and Fadiala Keita. Moreover, Touré has vowed that "the people are determined once and for all to overwhelm the forces of counterrevolution," and his special "people's trial" is still going on. The charges made are invariably grave ones, ranging from collaboration with the 1970 invaders to espionage on behalf of France, West Germany or the U.S. All carry possible death sentences.

Getting confessions has proved easy. As one Guinean recently told a reporter for The New York Times: "They put you in a little kennel where there's no room to stand, and nobody pays any attention to you for five or six days. No water, no food, nothing. Then, they take you to the interrogation room, where there's a glass of water you can have if you say what they want to hear. It's not too long before you start saying, yes, I was spying for the French, and for the Germans and for the Americans, and here's how and here's a list of the people who were do-

ing it, too." (It was not only the Guinean opponents of Sekou Touré who made such accusations. In a report this month, the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists charged that "arbitrary arrests, detention without judgment sometimes for years, mistreatment of prisoners and torturing of detainees have become daily practices.")

Tapes of "confessions" are broadcast daily over Radio Conakry or published in the party newspaper, *Horoya*. Each confession ends with a list of supposed co-conspirators, which in turn sparks new arrests. Consequently, the whole of Guinea has, in effect, become a prison. A curfew shuts down the country as soon as darkness falls. Each *comité*, or party cell, seals off its own district. Armed citizen groups set up roadblocks every

being a CIA recruiter who enlisted Bangoura as an agent. Bangoura also charged that money from the CIA was deposited for him in the American Security and Trust Co. of Washington, D.C. (account number 01 124 86 726) by Thomas H. Wright Jr., an assistant general counsel for the Ford Foundation.

**Accusation:** Both Attwood and Wright have denied that they performed any services for the CIA. And Wright, whose law firm was retained by the Guinean Government while Bangoura was ambassador to Washington, harbors no ill feelings toward Bangoura because of the accusation. "Bangoura," Wright said last week, "was a superb man who worked night and day for his country." As for the alleged bribes, Wright said that he occasionally as a personal favor deposited "\$20 or so" into the account mentioned in the alleged confession—but that the money was for Bangoura's two children, both of whom were in American colleges at the time.

Though few people take the confessions seriously, no one doubts Touré's determination to continue with his purge. Recently, the President has been sending the names of accused Guineans to local party committees for both judgment and sentencing. Given the tension in the country, these committees may well decide to dispense large numbers of death penalties. Exile sources in France and in other African countries say that each of the 29 regions of Guinea have already ordered two or three executions.

Remarkably, the reasons for the purge and terror remain obscure. One Guinean exile in Paris argues that "President Touré is simply insane." Less involved observers believe Touré may be motivated by a desire to punish incompetent officials who responded slowly to the

1970 invasion. But there are puzzles: although Touré's purge is allegedly directed against "imperialist plotters," he has carefully avoided any accusation against the U.S. Government as a whole. Nor has he moved against the two Western consortiums—one of them largely American-owned—that exploit Guinea's bauxite deposits. But whatever the reasons, Guinea's reign of terror continues. And before it ends, Touré may eradicate the best human resources of his nation.



Sekou Touré: Wiping out a whole generation

night, searching cars and checking identification papers. "Everyone, even 14-year-olds, carries a gun," says a European newly returned from Conakry. And a Guinean exile told NEWSWEEK's Andrew Jaffe: "A man no longer dares unburden himself to his wife. Children denounce their own fathers to the party. Everyone is very tense."

No arrests and confessions have stirred more controversy than those of former ambassadors Bangoura and Keita. In their confessions, read over the Conakry radio in flat, listless tones, they said they had been recruited by the CIA and paid monthly stipends of \$5,000 and \$2,000, respectively. Bangoura's confession—in which he claimed that he had received a total of \$1.3 million from France, West Germany and the CIA—accused William Attwood, U.S. ambassador to Guinea under President Kennedy and now publisher of *Newsday*, of

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THE LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH

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# THE AFRICA DOSS

As British influence in Africa declined, so did British secret service sending hundreds of agents to African capitals like Accra, Lagos to buttress "sensitive" states against communism and protect

E. H. Cookridge continues his exclusive series on the CIA

**T**HE adventurous operations often bordering on the bizarre which the Central Intelligence Agency pursued in many parts of the world are usually ascribed to one man: Allen Dulles. They culminated in the abortive invasion of Cuba in 1961. When Dulles departed from the directorship of CIA after the Bay of Pigs debacle, he certainly left an indelible stamp of his influence as the architect of the mighty CIA edifice and its worldwide ramifications.

The policy of his successors has, however, been no less forceful. CIA activities under its present director, Richard McGarrah Helms, may appear less aggressive because they are being conducted with greater caution and less publicity, and because they have been adroitly adjusted to the changing climate in international politics. In the past CIA gained notoriety by promoting revolutions in Latin American banana republics, and supporting anti-communist regimes in South-East Asia. Its operations in Africa were more skilfully camouflaged. For many years they had been on a limited scale because the CIA had relied on the British secret service to provide intelligence from an area where the British had unsurpassed experience and long-established sources of information. But with the emergence of the many African independent countries, the wave of "anti-colonialist" emotions, and the growing infiltration of Africa by Soviet and Chinese "advisers", British influence declined. Washington forcefully stepped, through CIA, into the breach, with the avowed aim of containing communist expansion.

Financial investments in new industrial and mining enterprises, and lavish economic aid to the emerging governments of the "underdeveloped" countries, paved the road for the influx of hundreds of CIA agents. Some combined their intelligence assignments with genuine jobs as technical, agricultural and scientific advisers.

The British Government - particularly after the Labour Party had come to power in 1964 - withdrew most of their SIS and MI5 officials from African capitals, though some remained, at the request of the new rulers, to organise their own new intelligence and security services.



A bloodless coup in Uganda in January last year installed Major-General Idi Amin as military ruler (above: a section of his troops). How far was the CIA? (below: a protest in Santa Domingo. A pro-rebel poster attacks American intervention)



men began hurriedly to establish their "stations" in Accra, Lagos, Nairobi, Kampala, Dar-es-Salaam, Lusaka, the "sensitive areas" in danger of slipping under communist sway.

By the mid-1960s several senior CIA officials, such as Thomas J. Gunning and Edward Foy, both former U.S. Army Intelligence officers, were firmly established at Accra. They were later joined by William B. Edmondson, who had already gained his spurs in East Africa, and Mrs. Stella Davis, an American woman, whom no one would have suspected of hav-

ing served for many years as a skilful FBI agent before joining CIA and being employed at Addis Ababa, Nairobi, and Dar-es-Salaam, acquiring fluency in Swahili. By 1965 the Accra CIA Station had two-score active operators, distributing largesse among President Nkrumah's secret adversaries.

The Americans had every intention of helping Ghana's economy by building, in co-operation with a British consortium, a dam and power station, providing hydro-electric power for the

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Continued



# Africa and Acts of Dissent

By WILLIAM ATTWOOD  
 and JAMES I. LOEB

WASHINGTON—We were the only two ambassadors named by President Kennedy to represent him in the young Republic of Guinea in West Africa. We accepted these assignments in part because of his keen interest in Guinea and his personal relationship with the country's President, Sékou Touré.

We went to Guinea to help the country which, at that time, was the symbol of African independence, especially in West Africa. During our successive missions, covering a period from early 1961 through most of 1965, the first of us initiated and the second carried on a substantial program of economic assistance to Guinea, indeed one of the largest per capita aid programs this country had in all of Africa.

What is especially noteworthy is that at no time did the United States lay down any political conditions for our economic assistance despite the fact that President Touré's generally Marxist political pronouncements seemed hardly in accord with American thinking. But it should be added that Mr. Touré's proclaimed neutralism was usually genuine in practice, notably in the case of his courageous refusal to permit Soviet planes to land at the Conakry airport (whose jet airstrip was constructed by the Russians) on the way to Havana during the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962. Obviously a number of other African leaders, more outwardly sympathetic to American policies, were unhappy about the extent of our aid to Guinea.

However, even with economic assistance from the United States and other countries on both sides of what used to be called the Iron Curtain, and despite the substantial natural resources of Guinea and considerable private investment, Guinea's economy has steadily declined, especially in comparison with that of other African countries. Many African chiefs of state, devoted friends of Guinea and of President Touré, have been shocked to observe this decline over the past ten years.

We would not presume to analyze all the reasons for Guinea's economic failure, except to suggest that President Touré's concept of independence was so total—even Guinea's currency became "independent" and consequently worthless—that it became both unrealistic and artificial in this modern world of interdependence. No country—surely not the United States or the People's Republic of China or the Soviet Union—can afford to act within the context of Sékou Touré's concept of independence.

Some dissent from the present policies of the Government exists within Guinea. But the question that concerns us, and should concern all those who have an affection for Africa in general and for Guinea in particular, is: How is this dissent dealt with?

We have been appalled to hear of the continued executions that are taking place in Guinea, and to learn of "another round of executions" expected momentarily. The brutality with which these executions have been carried out, with public hangings in Conakry and in the villages, only adds to our sense of shock.

Guinean Government leaders with whom we worked and whom we knew as honest patriots have been executed; others are still in jail but condemned to death; others, more fortunate, are in exile but condemned to death in absentia. It would appear that a whole generation of the best-trained Guineans has been marked for extinction.

Recently those jailed have recited endless and fantastic confessions of their "acts of treason" over the Government radio station, and these confessions have been printed in the only daily paper in Guinea, *Horoya*. We are hardly encouraged to believe these "confessions" when we read, in the confession of Karim Bangoura, whom we both knew as the very effective Guinean Ambassador to the United States, that "my joining the C.I.A. took place in 1964 in Washington" and that "my final recruiting was effected with the latter [former Ambassador to Guinea Attwood] and it was with him that we worked out the question of financial and material benefits." There follows a long list of services and financial pay-offs amounting to literally millions of dollars. In point of fact, Ambassador Bangoura at no time asked for nor was offered a pay-off of any kind by either of us nor was he ever "recruited" to our knowledge by or for any U. S. agency.

Where is all this going to lead? The estimates of those executed or jailed run as high as 6,000. Is it too much to urge, at the very least, that those Guineans, along with their families, whose dissent the Guinean Government cannot tolerate within Guinea, be exiled?

Meanwhile, we would suggest that the attempt to eliminate dissent by brutal execution will be no more effective in Guinea in the long run than it has in so many other countries in both the Communist orbit and the so-called free world.

William Attwood is publisher of *Newsday*. James I. Loeb works for Senator Muskie.

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# 2 Ex-Guinean Envoys 'Confess'

## Work for CIA

STATINTL

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Staff Writer

A sweeping investigation of internal opposition to the regime of President Sekou Toure of Guinea has resulted in what are alleged to be "confessions" by two former Guinean ambassadors to the United States that they were working for the Central Intelligence Agency.

Bangoura Karim, who served here from 1963 to 1969, and his successor, Fadiala Keita, who returned to Guinea last April, said in their confessions that they had been recruited here and paid monthly stipends of \$5,000 and \$2,000 respectively.

In addition Bangoura alleged that final arrangements for his hiring were made through William Attwood, U.S. ambassador to Guinea under President Kennedy and currently publisher of the Long Island newspaper Newsday.

Both men now face death sentences as a result of their confessions.

Bangoura's case has aroused special interest and concern at the State Department, as well as within the African diplomatic community, because he is widely regarded as having been one of the most effective and energetic African ambassadors ever to have served here.

U.S. officials are worried that the alleged confessions could lead to complications in relations with Guinea at a time of growing involvement by American companies in the mining of huge bauxite deposits there.

A small nation about the size of Oregon and with a population of 3.7 million, Guinea contains one-third of the world's known reserves of high-grade bauxite. Toure has tried to carry out a "socialist revolution" and to become a revolutionary pacesetter in Africa, while depending heavily on private American companies to exploit the country's vast mineral resources.

As is its policy in all such disclosures, the CIA refuses to make any comment on the confession. But the State Department says they are "false and totally unfounded."

Asked about his alleged role in hiring Bangoura as a CIA agent, Attwood commented that the confession was "so fantastic" that he could "only be telling his friends abroad that it was obtained under duress."

The alleged confessions came in the form of depositions given to "revolutionary courts" that are currently probing the connection between internal foes of the Toure regime and the attempted invasion of the country by 300 Portuguese-trained and led Guinean exiles one year ago.

The invading force, reportedly ferried in World War II LST landing craft from neighboring Portuguese Guinea, stormed the capital of Conakry early on the morning of Nov. 22, destroying the president's summer villa, killing 300 Guineans, and nearly toppling Toure's 13-year-old "socialist" regime.

Since that time, the government has arrested over 250 top party, army, and government officials and charged them with complicity in what Toure calls an "imperialistic-Portuguese aggression" aimed at his overthrow. Seventeen out of 35 ministers and nine-tenths of the officers in the top army command have been arrested.

Beginning in late July when the government began a "people's trial" of accused "fifth columnists," between 100 and 120 Guineans—army commanders, ministers, party officials, and ambassadors—have made long, detailed confessions in which many have admitted being agents for either the French, West German, or American secret intelligence services.

Some of the confessions, however, have subsequently been played over the "Voice of the Revolution," the

state-run radio, and published in Horoya, the daily newspaper of the ruling Democratic Party of Guinea.

The precise conditions under which the confessions were extracted remains a mystery, but according to some press reports from Conakry the accused were deprived of all food and water for days before being interrogated.

In his deposition, printed in Horoya on Aug. 31, Bangoura gave the following details about how and when he was recruited by the CIA:

"My adherence to the CIA took place in 1964 in Washington, where I was posted as ambassador of my country since Feb. 4, 1963. The intermediary was Diallo Sory, a native of Guinea living in New York as a restaurant owner for 30 years. This man, well-known in American circles even within the State Department, made use of his relations with one of my personal friends, Attwood, the former (U.S.) ambassador to Guinea.

"In fact, my recruitment was ultimately arranged through this latter person (Attwood), and it was with him that we settled the question of financial and material rewards."

In addition to the initial \$30,000 payment and monthly stipend of \$5,000, he said he was paid \$157,000 for "exceptional services" by the CIA and American mining companies seeking to gain access to Guinean bauxite and iron ore deposits.

Altogether, he received a total of \$657,000 from the CIA and various American companies, according to his statement. Among the companies he mentioned specifically are Harvey Aluminum, Alcan, Alcoa, and U. S. Steel.

The first three companies are all involved in an international consortium that has a \$185 million bauxite-mining project under way at Boké in northwestern Guinea. U. S. Steel is interested in large iron ore deposits located on Mount Nimba along the Li-

Bangoura said that the tasks assigned to him by the CIA included the following: developing close, preferential relations between Guinea and the United States; facilitating American investments in the country; promoting economic exchanges between the two states; and encouraging the visits of Guineans to this country and of Americans to Guinea.

He also stated in his confession that he had been informed of last November's invasion plan almost a month ahead of time and assigned the task of looking for ministers willing to serve in a new government, presumably after Toure's ouster.

He singled out West Germany, France, and Portugal as the principal countries backing the invasion and made no mention of direct U.S. involvement. This fits neatly the government's official thesis regarding the invasion and its foreign supporters.

According to Bangoura's confession, the money he received from the CIA and American mining companies was deposited in an account with the "American Security Bank of Washington" bearing the number 01-124-86-726. All these financial transactions were allegedly carried out "under the cover" of Thomas H. Wright Jr., whose address Bangoura gave as the Ford Foundation in New York.

In telephone interviews, Attwood and Wright, both of whom vehemently denied the allegations, pointed to a number of factual errors which they said Bangoura's confession contained regarding their alleged roles.

Attwood said he could not possibly have been involved in recruiting the Guinean ambassador in 1964 because at that time he was U.S. ambassador to Kenya.

continued



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CHICAGO, ILL.  
DEFENDER

DAILY - 37,506

DEC 2 1970

## UN mission in Guinea

Following President Sekou Toure's urgent request for help, a UN fact-finding mission is now in Guinea to investigate the extent to which the former French African colony is being invaded and the national identity of the invaders.

President Toure's plea for military assistance was accompanied by a charge that Portuguese-backed mercenaries were mounting the invasion. Portugal has denied the charges.

There is suspicion in some informed circles that the CIA is financing the plot to overthrow Toure and his leftist-oriented regime. The same American Agency is believed to have had a hand in the clandestine coup that catapulted Dr. Nkrumah out of the presidency of the Republic of Ghana. Nkrumah has taken refuge in Guinea where he lives as guest of his friend President Toure. The two African leaders are persona non grata in Washington. That American interests would like to get both of them out of the way is not an improbable assumption.

WASHINGTON STAR

28 NOV 1970

## 'Mercenaries' Invade Again, Guinea Says

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast (UPI)—Conakry radio said today a new group of "mercenaries" had invaded Guinea from neighboring Portuguese Guinea.

The radio said 200 "mercenaries" advanced near Koundara but were surrounded by Guinean soldiers. "Ten mercenaries have been put out of action," the radio said.

It again accused Portugal of being behind the invasion, the fourth one the radio has announced in a week. As usual, the radio gave no details of fighting but called on the people to be "continuously vigilant."

What was going on in Guinea remained a mystery as the government refused to allow any foreign journalists from East or West into the country.

In Moscow, a Defense Ministry commentator said the United States "pushed" Portugal into an invasion of Guinea and accused the Central Intelligence Agency of organizing coups against five other African governments this year. ✓